

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LISBON 01735 031029Z

42

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ARA-16 EA-11 NEA-10 ISO-00 ACDA-19 IO-14

AID-20 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07

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R 030748Z MAY 74

FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9515

INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMCONSUL LUANDA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMCONSUL OPORTO

AMCONSUL PONTA DELGADA

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY RABAT

USCINCEUR

CINCLANT

DIA

COMUSFORAZ

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L LISBON 1735

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PO

SUBJ: SPINOLA'S POLICY ON PORTUGUESE AFRICA

DEPT PASS OTHER AF POSTS AS DESIRED

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PAGE 02 LISBON 01735 031029Z

SUMMARY: THE LISBON JUNTA'S POSITION ON THE FUTURE OF PORTUGUESE AFRICA IS OF KEY IMPORTANCE BOTH IN PORTUGAL'S DOMESTIC POLITICS AND IN THE NATION'S FOREIGN RELATIONS. WHILE STATING THAT FUTURE OF OVERSEAS TERRITORIES WILL BE "WHATEVER NATION DESIRES", SPINOLA HAS MADE CLEAR HIS HOPE THAT SELF-DETERMINATION WILL RESULT IN THE TERRITORIES' CONTINUED ASSOCIATION WITH PORTUGAL. LAST WEEK HE REJECTED CONTACTS WITH THE INSURGENTS "AT THIS MOMENT". THE CRITICAL ISSUE IS TIMING: SPINOLA HAS CALLED FOR A PERIOD OF PREPARATION BEFORE SELF-DETERMINATION TAKES PLACE; THE LEFT APPEARS TO WANT A CEASE FIRE AND IMMEDIATE INDEPENDENCE. A LOSS OF INITIATIVE ON THIS ISSUE COULD SERIOUSLY WEAKEN THE REGIME. END SUMMARY.

1. THE SPINOLA JUNTA'S POLICY ON PORTUGUESE AFRICA IS THE CRUX OF BOTH THE JUNTA'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE EMERGING LEFT AT HOME AND WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. FORCES ON THE PORTUGUESE POLITICAL LEFT, AFRICAN COUNTRIES, AND THE INSURGENT MOVEMENTS THEMSELVES HAVE ADOPTED POSITIONS RANGING FROM IMMEDIATE GRANT OF INDEPENDENCE TO INTERMEDIATE BUT SHORT TERM MEASURES LEADING TO THAT END, SUCH AS IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRES FOLLOWED BY NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE INSURGENTS LEADING RAPIDLY TO INDEPENDENCE. THESE POSITIONS GO FAR BEYOND WHAT THE JUNTA HAS SO FAR INDICATED ITS AFRICAN POLICY TO BE.

2. THE SPINOLA JUNTA CAME TO POWER PRINCIPALLY BECAUSE OF ITS ADVOCACY OF A POLITICAL RATHER THAN MILITARY SOLUTION TO THE AFRICAN PROBLEM. HOWEVER, THE AFRICAN POLICY SET FORTH IN SPINOLA'S BOOK "PORTUGAL AND THE FUTURE", A POLICY CERTAIN POINTS OF WHICH HAVE BEEN REAFFIRMED SINCE THE COUP IN THE RELATIVELY FEW PRO- NOUNCEMENTS ON THE SUBJECT SO FAR MADE BY SPINOLA OR THE JUNTA, WAS NOT DESIGNED TO LEAD TO IMMEDIATE OR EVEN NECESSARILY TO EVENTUAL INDEPENDENCE. IT WAS DESIGNED TO PREPARE THE PEOPLES OF THE AFRICAN TERRITORIES FOR AN EXERCISE OF SELF-DETERMINATION WHICH SPINOLA HOPED WOULD RESULT IN ACCEPTANCE BY THE AFRICAN PEOPLES OF THEIR COUNTINUED ASSOCIATION WITH PORTUGAL WITHIN A CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LISBON 01735 031029Z

FEDERAL SYSTEM. WHILE HE WAS PREPARED FOR THE DECISION TO GO IN FAVOR OF INDEPENDENCE, HIS MAIN POINT WAS THAT INDEPENDENCE WOULD COME INEVITABLY IF THE OLD POLICY WERE PURSUED AND THAT THE BEST CHANCE FOR PORTUGUESE AFRICA TO REMAIN PORTUGUESE WAS THROUGH SELF-DETERMINATION WHICH COULD LEAD, HE HOPED, TO A FEDERAL SCHEME.

3. ON THE QUESTION OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE INSURGENT

MOVEMENTS, SPINOLA'S BOOK IS SOMEWHAT AMBIGUOUS. HE EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT THE SOLUTION HE ADVOCATED WOULD BE ACCEPTED NOT ONLY BY THE PEOPLES OF PORTUGUESE AFRICA BUT ALSO BY "OUR ENEMIES" WHICH CARRIED THE IMPLICATION OF SOME CONTACT WITH THE INSURGENTS. HOWEVER, ASKED AT HIS FIRST POST-COUP PRESS CONFERENCE IF THE JUNTA WAS THINKING OF ESTABLISHING CONTACTS WITH THE INSURGENT MOVEMENTS, SPINOLA RESPONDED "AT THIS MOMENT, NO". IN A LISBON RADIO COMMENTARY, OBVIOUSLY EMANATING FROM THE JUNTA, SPINOLA WAS PARAPHRASED AS HAVING TOLD A PRESS GROUP APRIL 29 THAT HE WOULD "NOT ACCEPT DISCUSSING INDEPENDENCE WITH INTERLOCUTORS WHO ARE NOT VALID".

4. IN THAT SAME NEWS CONFERENCE SPINOLA, ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS, EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE. IF THE RESULT OF THE PROCESS OF SELF-DETERMINATION IS THE MAINTENANCE OF TIES WITH PORTUGAL, HE IS DESCRIBED AS SAYING, THIS WILL INDICATE THE SUCCESS OF OUR ENDEAVORS. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE OPTION FOR INDEPENDENCE COULD RESULT, AND THIS WOULD INDICATE THE FAILURE OF OUR EFFORTS. HE HAS REPORTEDLY WARNED PRIVATELY AGAINST PRECIPITOUS ACTION LEADING TO ELECTIONS WHICH WOULD NOT BE VALID TESTS. HE IS SAID TO HAVE COMMENTED THAT IF A PLEBISCITE HAD BEEN HELD WHEN HE WAS GOVERNOR OF GUINEA, PORTUGAL WOULD HAVE WON OVERWHELMINGLY-- AND UNREALISTICALLY.

5. IN HIS BOOK, SPINOLA DID NOT SPECIFY HOW LONG THE PERIOD OF PREPARATION OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLES WOULD TAKE BEFORE AN EXERCISE OF SELF-DETERMINATION COULD TAKE PLACE, NOR DID HE DEFINE WHAT CRITERIA HAD TO BE SATISFIED IN ORDER FOR THE AFRICAN TERRITORIES TO BE

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PAGE 04 LISBON 01735 031029Z

CERTIFIED AS READY FOR SUCH AN EXERCISE. HIS COMMITMENT TO PUBLIC DISCUSSION AND PLEBISCITES HOWEVER, WILL DEMAND SOME TIME. INITIATIVE IS STILL WITH THE JUNTA. IF SPINOLA'S MOMENTUM ON THIS CRUCIAL ISSUE WERE TO STALL--BY A CONTINUATION OF THE WARS AND AN UNACCEPTABLE POSTPONEMENT OF SELF-DETERMINATION--THE RESULTANT LOSS OF INITIATIVE COULD SERIOUSLY UNDERMINE THE FUTURE OF THE REGIME, BOTH AT HOME WITH THE LEFT AND ABROAD WITH FRIEND AND FOE ALIKE.

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